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ABSTRACT

The groups and personalities that comprise the British peace network are discussed and their activities are examined. The nuclear disarmament campaign is led by a combination of mass-based organizations, specialized interest groups, and individuals determined to end Britain's role as a nuclear weapons state and military base. Notable groups are the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the European Disarmament Campaign, and the World Disarmament Campaign. A combination of environmental, safe energy, and social justice groups have broadened the base of peace action linking Britain's major economic and political problems to the nuclear expansion. There is also a religious and ethical dimension to the British peace movement. An example is the series of lectures on the atomic age sponsored by St. James Church in Piccadilly. The peace activists have been successful in implementing informal and formal education programs throughout the country. These include television programs, graffiti, monographs, and university-level peace studies courses. (RM)

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THE BRITISH PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE 1980's

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A paper submitted for delivery at the 77th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, September 6-10, 1982.

The British Peace Movement in the 1980s

Mark Reader

The ideological origins of the British peace movement spring from three interacting, indigenous sources: the Ban-the-Bomb campaign of the 1950s; long-standing opposition by agrarian traditionalists and marxist critics to industrial capitalism, and a pacifistic religious community's resistance to war and other forms of structural violence.

In this report, I shall identify some of the more important groups and personalities that comprise the peace network in Britain today and offer some comments on a number of institutional and ideological constraints within which British peace activists function presently. In the process, I hope to consider the more persistent perceptual, class, ethnic and goal-oriented divisions among leading peace advocates and organizations; describe several promising, on-going peace studies educational experiments underway in Britain, and consider some of the unique problems and opportunities for broadening the base of peace-making efforts within the social, economic and political framework of the United Kingdom.

Much of the material used in preparing these remarks was derived from personal experiences as a participant-observer in the British peace movement during the first six months of 1981, with subsequent information gathered from private correspondence

and public accounts of events through July, 1982.

The Organizational Context

As in other industrial nations, present-day non-governmental peace activities in Britain are being shaped by several factors: 1) the re-emergence of cold war politics between the superpowers; 2) stress in the global economy leading to double digit inflation, weakened currencies, high unemployment, factory closings and corporate bankruptcies; and 3) the worldwide spread of a non-violent post-modern sub-culture largely the by-product of the threat of thermonuclear extinction, resource and energy depletion and continuing scientific and technological change.

The nuclear weapons disarmament campaign. At the cutting edge of the British peace movement is the nuclear disarmament campaign led by a combination of mass-based organizations, specialized interest groups and individuals determined to end Britain's role as a nuclear weapons state and military base.

Of these mass-based organizations, several are notable: the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), the European Disarmament Campaign (END) and the World Disarmament Campaign (WDC). Common to them all are their attempts at stopping the nuclear arms race, their popular support and small staffs and their media access. Of the three, the CND is the oldest and, in many respects, the most successful. Its pedigree goes back to the test ban movement of 1954 and Lord Bertrand Russell's use, in 1958, of the peace semaphore, since become the emblem of peace activists worldwide; and its successes may be seen in its swelling membership ranks

(30,000-35,000 in 1982 and growing at a rate of about 50 a week), its influence on the British Labor Party's unilateral nuclear weapons disarmament stance, its bustling sales of peace paraphernalia ($200,000 annually in publications, peace badges, posters and tapes),[1] and its grass-roots educational efforts ranging from the frequent showing to local chapters of Peter Watkins' The War Game to the staging of largescale demonstrations attended by hundreds of thousands. Although its members and associates differ on tactics (more passive to more active, non-violent to violent) and ideology (middle class to marxist), the CND has gained respectability in the eyes of many for its early, unswerving and single-issue opposition to a nuclear-armed world.

While intimately linked to the CND in terms of supporters and overlapping ideologies, the newly formed END has struck a responsive chord among those who now fear U.S. nuclear policies and have come to question the real effectiveness of CND's continued reliance on education campaigns and symbolic demonstrations as ways of ending the atomic threat.[2] Responding to NATO's 1979 decision to base "tactical" nuclear weapons in Europe and the 1980 publication of a Home Office civil defense pamphlet on how to survive an atomic attack on Britain,[3] marxist scholar E.P. Thompson and research-activists Dan Smith, Mary Kaldor and Ken Coates founded END's dynamic "Protest and Survive" movement.[4] At the core of END's ideological verve is its call for an independent European weapons policy that would create a nuclear-free zone from "Poland to Portugal," its indictment of the nuclear

reactor industry as a major contributor to atomic weapons proliferation and its rejection of symbolic action as a way out of the nuclear dilemma.[5] However, despite END's rhetoric, it has not yet been able to surface a direct-action strategy significantly different from CND's.

By way of contrast, symbolic politics has been the cornerstone of WDC policy in much the same way as it has figured in the Ground Zero and the mutual freeze initiatives in the United States. WDC General Secretary Michael Harbottle has recognized the need to link the nuclear weapons debate to the greater global disarmament issue and called for a worldwide, door-to-door petition drive designed at putting pressure on governmental elites to lay down their arms.[6] Until recently, WDC efforts focused on influencing decisions at the second special United Nations session on disarmament. In the aftermath of that diplomatically disappointing conference, the fate of WDC is uncertain.

In addition to these mass-based organizations, the British anti-nuclear weapons campaign derives its strength from a number of professional societies and interest groups. Many professions, along with affinity groups like "Punks for Peace," now have their anti-nuclear weapons component.[7] In a class-conscious, perceptually divided, pluralistic society, these newly created subgroups, working out of the theory that one can get further faster when likes-talk-to-likes, have been able to deliver the nuclear disarmament message to previously impervious audiences.

As is the case of the American-based Physicians for Social Responsibility, members of the British medical community have been at the forefront in organizing other professions around the

atomic war threat and in providing these groups with information and peer education.[8] Typically, Dr. Alexander Poteliakhoff, treasurer of the Medical Association for the Prevention of War, served as resourcer-speaker at the organizational gathering of Architects for Peace at London Polytechnic in 1981, and the Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons, co-ordinated by Claire Ryle, not only hosted the second international meeting of anti-war physicians in Cambridge in April, 1982 but has been responsible for the steady stream of publications, meetings and teach-ins on the medical hazards of radioactivity.[9]

Similarly, the Campaign Against the Arms Trade (CAAT), a highly visible London interest group, has kept tabs on weapons sales in Britain and elsewhere and participated in direct-action protests against the manufacture of military hardware and the locating of military bases in the U.K.[10] For British peace activists, CAAT's newsletter is a useful supplement to the more academic and establishment-oriented studies of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, another London-based armaments research group.

Finally, the nuclear disarmament wing of the British peace movement has been given voice, continuity and legitimacy by a number of scientists, intellectuals, and performing artists who have adopted the long and well-respected tradition of pamphleteering as a prime mode of political discourse.[11] For example, Nobel laureates Lord Philip Noel-Baker (peace) and Sir Martin Ryle (astrophysics), as well as government science advisor Lord Solly Zuckerman and academician Professor Michael Pentz, recently

published anti-war pamphlets (What Nuclear War Would Mean: Is There A Conspiracy of Silence? (1980); Towards the Nuclear Holocaust (1981); Science Advisors, Scientific Advisers, and Nuclear Weapons (1980); Towards the Final Abyss: The State of the Nuclear Arms Race(1980), respectively that have set the ethical and intellectual tone for much of the movement. In a country which prides itself on the work of its culture-makers, the legitimizing peace activities of these and other intellectuals cannot be underestimated.[12]

Ban-the-bomb activity is as deeply rooted among contemporary artists and writers who continue to provide the peace community with its sensual and humanistic dimensions, much as did the North London poets and folksingers a generation before them. Steve Ashley`s 'Demo` Tapes is perhaps the British movement's most telling and influential collection of original anti-nuclear war songs.[13] Pat Arrowsmith's On the Brink (1981) and Nicki Jackowska's Incubus (1981) are examples of the constant flow of peace poetry, and hardly a week goes by without public announcement of an anti-nuclear benefit performance, art exhibit, or theatrical production opening somewhere in Britain.[14]

The legitimacy given the anti-nuclear weapons campaign by British academics and symbol-makers has had other pay-offs as well. It has culminated in the early acceptance of peace studies programs at several universities, among them Bradford and Lancaster; nourished a generation of global peace researchers like Frank Barnaby and Frank Blackaby, former and present directors of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), respectively; facilitated high level policy discussions between

Soviet and American nuclear physicists under the guidance of Professor Joseph Rotblat (of British Pugwash), one of the two living signatories to the Einstein-Russell peace appeal, and led to the creation of a number of privately endowed peace foundations, including the J.D. Bernal Peace Library, the Lansbury House Trust Fund, and the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust.

Critics of industrial capitalism. A combination of environmental, safe energy and social justice groups have broadened the base of peace action in Britain, even as they have brought to it some of the more serious and unresolved divisions present within the dominant economic-political culture at-large. The Anti-Nuclear Campaign (ANC, Sheffield), the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace (SCRAM, Edinburgh) and the World Information Service on Energy -- United Kingdom (WISE-UK, Oxford), each with strong American and European anti-nuclear power ties, are among the more visible groups that have made the connection between nuclear energy production and nuclear weapons proliferation, and learned to think of many of Britain's major economic and political problems as related to an expanding domestic nuclear fuel cycle. Accordingly, ANC is explicitly committed to stopping both nuclear power and nuclear weapons development in Britain (for much the same reason as is the American-based Mobilization for Survival), developing alternative energy programs and guaranteeing employment for workers during the transition period. Its action-oriented campaigns have included attempts at halting the dumping of radioactive wastes in the U.K., opposition to the expansion of reprocessing facilities at Windscale, and preventing

the transportation of radioactive materials through English cities and towns. Along with other environmental-energy organizations ANC has teamed up with SCRAM, the leading Scottish anti-nuclear group, in opposing the reactor program at Torness and waste dumping in other parts of Scotland.

What ANC, SCRAM and WISE lack in theoretical base is provided by two very divergent environmental-energy groups: the Socialist Environment and Resources Association (SERA) and British Friends of the Earth (FOE), both housed at 9 Poland Street, London. Avowedly socialist in its orientation, SERA, has linked the job and energy questions and, under the chair of Dave Elliott (The Politics of Nuclear Power, Pluto Press, 1978), is responsible for many of the most sophisticated and authoritative critiques of the British nuclear industry and supporting government energy-economic policy;[15] while British FOE has provided an intellectual home for energy consultants Amory B. Lovins, Walt Patterson and Michael Flood, whose collective publications have associated energy choices with social organization, (Lovins, Soft Energy Paths, 1977); described the complicated workings of the nuclear fuel cycle in layman's terms (Patterson, Nuclear Power, 1976 and The Fissile Society, 1977), and examined some of the negative connections between civil liberties and nuclear power development in Britain, (Flood and Grove - White, Nuclear Prospects: A Comment on the Individual, 1976), respectively.

In turn, these and other contributors to British FOE are partially indebted to former British Coal Board member E.F. Schumacher (Small is Beautiful, 1973) whose thoughts on the many

connections among energy, work, intermediate technologies, nuclear power and the violence inherent in large-scale organization and growth economies initially appeared in the pages of Resurgence, a magazine first published in Wales in 1966 and presently edited from North Devon by Satish Kumar.[16] Schumacher's work, along with that of British philanthropist Edward Goldsmith and the editors of The Ecologist (Blueprint for Survival, 1972) are typical of a home-grown agrarian movement calling for the establishment of a non-violent, sustainable economic and social order for Britain. Resurgence, along with Peace News (of which more will be said), serve as prime counterculture publications in the U.K., the former appealing to middle class intellectuals and professionals dissatisfied with the ugliness of industrial civilization; the latter to those engaged in experimenting with pre-industrial, self-sustaining communities from Commonwork Centre (Kent) to various squatters' communes scattered throughout the Isles.[17] And for those environmentalists impatient with theorizing, there is Greenpeace (London) whose direct-action campaigns against the dumping of nuclear wastes at sea around Britain continue to make headlines.

Various social justice groups have contributed to the British peace community as well. Trades union representatives, national liberation and women's peace groups and energy activists have carried their messages into the chambers of parliament and helped swell the peace ranks at marches and demonstrations. One of the more pointed events, for example, was a two day workshop, held at the British Humanists' Conway Hall in London, May 9 and 10, 1981, on the global links between Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ), the

British-based uranium conglomerate, and the fate of indigenous peoples, many of them miners, in Australia, Panama, Namibia, Bolivia and elsewhere.

The religious and ethical dimension. Not surprisingly, there are strong, overlapping links between critics of the social injustices brought into being by industrial civilization and members of the religious and ethical community. The Cambridge-based American Jim Garrison (From Hiroshima to Harrisburg: The Unholy Alliance, 1980) is representative of an increasing number of young activists-intellectuals with ties to ANC, the medical campaign against nuclear war and nuclear power and a pacifistic global religious movement which traces its modern origins back to the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[18]

On the organizational front, religious, ethical and social justice peace activists have joined together to form the loosely confederated National Peace Council, coordinated by Sheila Oakes in London. The Council serves as a major vehicle for the exchange of information among peace groups within Britain through its periodic mailings and attendance at selective peace meetings in the U.K. and on the continent.[19]

Among the more active churches associated with the National Peace Council are Quaker Peace & Service and Pax Christi (Catholic) as well as various protestant denominations from Anglican to Unitarian. Both the Quakers and Pax Christi have mounted highly-visible nuclear disarmament campaigns, providing the British peace movement with some of its most striking posters and most gifted speakers. Informal ties are also maintained between the

Council and the more secular direct action groups like the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP), linked to the American Mobilization for Survival, and the globally oriented War Resisters International (South London), whose supporters serve as an invaluable source of information about peacemaking activities throughout the U.K.[20]

Of particular significance to the British religious community are activities within the local parishes of the Church of England. Visitors to Canterbury Cathedral, for example, can now expect to hear daily prayers denouncing the prospect of nuclear war and one of the more penetrating analyses of the human and philosophical dimensions of the Atomic Age took place at St. James's Church, Piccadilly, located at the crossroads of London's parliamentary, theatre and shopping district in the Spring of 1981 when the Reverend Donald Reeves organized a series of lecture/discussions involving David Steel (Liberal Party), Professor Joseph Rotblat (British Pugwash), Adam Roberts (Reader in International Relations, Oxford), E. P. Thompson (END), Richard Barnet (Institute for Policy Studies, U.S.), Ronald Higgins (former secretary to Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath and author of The Seventh Enemy), Bernard Williams (Provost of King's College, Cambridge), Peter Cadogan (British Humanist Association), Shirley Williams (vote-getting Social Democrat leader) as well as a number of MPs, civil servants and political activists of many persuasions.[21] Efforts of this sort culminated in 1982 in a 170-page report, commissioned by the Church of England's Board of Social Responsibility, which recommends that Britain scrap its

nuclear weapons. The report, The Church and the Bomb, will be debated within the church's ruling General Synod in February, 1983. It suggests the U.K. should phase out its Polaris nuclear missiles and submarines, cancel its Trident missile program and drop plans to deploy U.S. Cruise missiles. The report is likely to split ruling Conservative Party ranks and receive serious consideration among professional civil servents and others.

Communications, Education and Ideology

Indeed, both the successes and shortcomings of the British peace movement may be expressed in educational and communications terms. Like national peace movements elsewhere, British peacemakers find themselves operating in a global sea of structural and verbal violence, the one having led to the physical exploitation of people and resources; the other to the literal demeaning of life and the headlong rush toward thermonuclear disaster.[22] The ideological and strategic difficulties encountered by peace activists reflect these circumstances accordingly. On the one hand, they complicate the task of thinking about peace in nonviolent ways; on the other, they serve as lures toward revolutionary violence or despair. Stated somewhat differently, the success of any peace movement as a peaceful movement may be evaluated in terms of its ability to generate fundamental, nonviolent social change, particularly in the energy-economic base of societies, by creating a grammar of public discourse that infuses ordinary life with sacredness and meaning. From this perspective, peace movements historically have been able to claim

few lasting victories.[23]

Typically, successes by peace movements operating in hostile economic environments have been confined either to ruling-class initiated electoral and symbolic economic reforms, as were engineered by the Fabians for instance, and/or limited to the pacification of the more formal rules, customs and institutional arrangements governing human conduct, as is the case of the norm of British civility and constitutionalism.

For the moment, many associated with the British peace campaign must be counted among the casualities of a perceptually divided, structurally violent (unequal) society. Not only are they, themselves, weakened by past and present injustices, but they are further divided by the ability of modern governments and various representatives of the declasse to choose the conditions and set the tone of political debate. Beyond the conflict in northern Ireland, race riots in the cities, and the nationalism of the recent Falklands war stands all of the conflict and false consciousness that fills a class-based, racially and ethnically fragmented society experiencing severe economic dislocation. The peace community may be viewed as one of many bearers of these divisions. For example, British disarmament campaigners seem unable to relate the nuclear war to the nuclear power issue, in part because too many jobs and discredited dreams depend on continued commitment to the latter;[24] charges and countercharges fly regarding communist influence in the CND and END,[25] unilateralists and multilateralists are polarized as much by words as by policy;[26] and the violence-non-violence debate hinges on a situational (i.e., a class) reading of the extent to which the gov-

ernment has become tyrannical and is pursuing a policy that will culminate in the ruin of the human species.

Similar conflict is present among environmentally-oriented peace groups. British FOE, for instance, has been accused of working too zealously to clean up government and industry's nuclear power program in order to rescue a discredited market economy;[27] socialist critics are sometimes said to prefer vindicating marxist theory to preventing nuclear war, and the agrarians and fledgling Ecology Party are ignored by mainstream audiences because of their inability to generate an acceptable incomes policy in a failing monetary ecoromy.[28]

The religious-ethical component of the movement is split, too, with some of the more progressive peace churches (like Quaker Peace & Service) experiencing difficulty in officially renouncing structural inequalities built into Britian's nuclear energy choice,[29] and unable to articulate a healing and convincing call for peace that might transcend class, racial, sexual, economic and ethnic divisions. And not until recently, through the work of visiting American-based anti-nuclear activists like Sister Rosalie Bertell, Dr. Helen Caldicott, Dr. Carl Johnson and Mark Reader has the British movement begun to respond to personal humanistic appeals to bring the Atomic Age to a close because of the tragedy it has already brought to many individuals.[30] Thus, Charlie King's powerful song, Unacceptable Risk, dedicated to an American soldier who died of cancer as a result of above-ground weapons testing at Yucca Flats, was first heard in London in the Spring of 1981,[31] and the gentle, childlike

peace posters familiar within the Japanese movement are not to be seen in the U.K.

Despite these difficulties, British peace activists have met with some limited successes. Along with others they have communicated the European fear of the mounting prospect of atomic war to out-elites and peace activists in the U.S., thereby rekindling anti-nuclear sentiment there. For example, E. P. Thompson was in residence at Brown University for some months in 1980 and CND's Bruce Kent was among a delegation of European peace activists who toured the U.S. prior to the opening of the second special U.N. session on disarmament.

As significantly, perhaps, British peace activists continue to serve as one of several role models in formal and informal education programs that have become integral in what, on reflection, now appears to be a globally emerging peace culture.[32] Thus, well before U.S. city councils and county boards of supervisors responded to the Reagan administration's attempts at revitalizing a civil defense program, British peaceworkers had persuaded the opposition Labour Party to opt for unilateral disarmament and scores of city governments (chief among them Birmingham), and boroughs had declared themselves nuclear-free zones.[33]

But peace education activities in Britain are more than symbolic; they are becoming a reflexive part of the daily life of many Britons. Rooted in the twin recognition that human behavior depends upon one's image of reality[34] and that access to, and control of, information constitutes one of the prime sources of institutional power,[35] British peace activists have begun to

challenge the government's dominance of the speech community. They have in the persons of E.P. Thompson, Tony Benn (Lab) and others surfaced charismatic leaders able to deliver peace messages to large audiences;* fought for, and occasionally won, access to media (television in the case of Michael Pentz, E. P. Thompson, and Jonathan Dimbleby's, The Bomb; and The Guardian and Sunday Observer in the case of newspapers); mounted widespread disarmament marches despite a Conservative Government's 1981 attempt to ban them in the guise of protecting racial minorities from attacks by neo-Nazi hooligans; distributed countless leaflets, lapel badges (buttons), pamphlets, position papers, etc. to a reading public through bookstores, on street corners, church steps, in pubs, markets, etc.) carried their message into the street with grafitti ("John Lennon Lives," "Nuclear Waste Fades Your Genes," "Strive to Be Your Own Hero"), music and even hot cross buns topped with peace symbols.[36]

While it is true that informal communication exchanges are more easily realized in geographically compact, linguistically homogeneous cultures, British activists have perfected some interesting modes of political and social communication useful in complex urban settings as well. For many years, for example, Time Out, a mass circulation weekly magazine, kept Londoners

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*Nicholas Humphrey's, October, 1981 BBC2 anti-nuclear war talk, "Four Minutes to Midnight: The Third Bronowski Memorial Lecture," apparently was heard by more than 1 million Britons. Dr. Humphrey is Assistant Director of Animal Behavior at Cambridge. The Listener (29 October, 1981).

informed of the major political events in that city through its "Agitprop" section, while Peace News, a forthnightly, now published at Nottingham, continues to run a monthly calendar of peace events for the U. K. as-a-whole, in addition to publishing its regular peace news, features, interviews and position papers. Moreover, the communication of European and U.S. peace news is reported in the many house organs and newsletters published by groups like CND (SANITY), WISE, ICDP, National Peace Council and WRI.

Peace information is generated in more formal educational settings as well. For instance, a visitor to London is interested to learn that The War Game has been shown in at least one comprehensive school whose library is stocked with basic books on nuclear war and nuclear power, that SCRAM is promoting an attractive educational packet on the nuclear fuel cycle for pre-university schoolroom use,[37] and that courses on weapons and militarism are being designed for the nationwide Open University.[38] Equally notable in this regard, is the continuing Peace Studies program set up at the University of Bradford by the American historian, Merle Curti. Supported by one of the more extensive collections of peace literature in the world, a dozen or so faculty members now offer regular instruction on the theories of peace and conflict, the idea of a just society, dominant and less dominant groups, class, labour relations, the sociology of change, etc. as well as contribute to a series of peace monographs available at Housmans, in London, one of the leading peace bookshops in the U.K.[39]

Directed policy research is also underway. Among the more

promising of these are non-nuclear defense studies for Britain coordinated by Michael Randle of Bradford for the Lansbury House Trust Fund the independent work of Adam Roberts at Oxford, and the Armament and and Disarmament Information unit (ADIU), located within the Science Policy Research Unit at Sussex University. Through in depth analysis of weapons policy, these and similar studies hope to convince military and political planners of the feasibility of Britain abandoning its nuclear deterrence policy in favor of what Roberts thinks of as "hedgerow" (home) defense measures.[40]

Whether these non-nuclear peace proposals will ever be implemented as government policy probably depends upon a Labour Party parliamentary majority in the next general election and, for the moment, that prospect seems rather remote. While it continues to be plagued by economic difficulty, the Conservative pro-nuclear government of Margaret Thatcher has demonstrated its ability to build its popularity (temporarily at least) by choosing to go to war at the right place at the right time, while the newly formed Social Democrats, committed to a policy of mutual (as distinct from incremental unilateral) nuclear arms reduction and growth oriented economics continues to split Labour ranks.

Realization of the long-term goals of many in the British peace movement, then, are presently in doubt as they are throughout the world. Given British society as it is today, it may take peace activists several generations to find ways of mobilizing the rich and unique tradition of British craftsmanship and aesthetic excellence as the basis for a non-violent, humanistic and

sustainable political economy. Meanwhile, the movement may have to settle for the much-to-be-hoped-for denuclearization of both the British weapons and energy systems which, in itself, would constitute a massive non-violent turning toward peace.

Notes

[1]Barry M. Caspar, "European Disarmament Movement Really Wants Unilateral Disarmament," F.A.S. Public Interest Report, Journal of the Federation of American Scientists (FAS), Volume 34, No.10 (December, 1981).

[2]E. P. Thompson, personal communication, postmarked at Worchester, 6 March, 1981.

[3]"Protect and Survive," The 1980 Home Office publication was followed by Thompson et al. rebuttal, Protest and Survive (Penguin, 1980).

[4]Caspar, op. cit.

[5]"Appeal for European Nuclear Disarmament," (28 April, 1980), in Casper, op cit.

[6]Remarks, "Security and Survival: New Perspectives in the Defense Debate" St James's Church, Piccadilly, London, May 9, 1981.

[7]For an additional listing of professional and special interest peace groups, see "A letter from CND" (1981), Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 11 Goodwin Street, London, N4.

[8]See, for example, Proceedings of the Medical Association for Prevention of War, Volume 3, Part 5, (No. 27), (March, 1981).

[9]e.g., "Radiation: Your Health Risk," Radiation & Health

Information Service, 9 Marion Close, Cambridge, U.K.

[10]Newsletter, CAAT, 5, Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London N19DX.

[11]George Orwell, (ed.) British Pampleteers (London, 1948-51)

[12]For example, Philip Noel-Baker made his personal presence felt at a number of public gatherings in 1981, and CND was circulating a flyer of Lord Louis Mountbatten's remarks on Nuclear War, May 11, 1979 under the title, "The Speech We Ignored."

[13]Ashley's songs include, "It Fell Out," "Before the Fireballs Fall," "I Clean Forgot," "Tired of Waiting," "Wanna Buy a Shelter?" "Middle of the Road," "Down the Pub," "Berkshire Tragedy,"etc.

[14]Researchers interested in a political history of "radical" culture in London from the mid-sixties onward will find Time Out an invaluable source of information.

[15]e.g., SERA "Energy Options and Employment," and "Review" of the Government's Statement on the the New Nuclear Programme, House of Commons, Select Committee on Energy (Session 1980-81).

[16]Part of the story of the "Small is Beautiful" movement in the U.K. is told by Rory O'Connor, "The Only Problem in the Universe," The Atlantic Monthly (May, 1982), pp. 84-90.

[17]Commonwork an energy-efficient small community experiment, is located at Bore Place Farm, Bough Beech, near Edenbridge, Kent; one of the more interesting squatters groups may be found on the abandoned grounds of King Edward Royal Hospital, Ealing (London).

[18]Garrison, for example, relies heavily on Yale psychologist Robert Jay Lifton's studies of the A-bomb survivors at Hiroshima and Nagasaki

[19]For a complete list of organizations associated with the National Peace Council consult the Council's annual report, 29 Great James Street, London, WCIN 3ES. An invaluable listing of peace groups in Britain and elsewhere may be founded in the annual World Peace Diary, prepared by Housemans Booksellers and Publishers, 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London NI.

[20]Informal communications and casual encounters among peace activists are frequent. Caspar, op cit., reports an unexpected meeting with Hores Medvedev, the Russian emigre, and this author had a chance meeting with E.P. Thompson at ICDP headquarters, one afternoon.

[21]For a completedescriptionofthis and otherso-calledDunamis programs, contact the Rev. Reeves at St. James's directly.

[22]For two interesting theoretical studies on the connection(s) between economic and communications systems, see Jurgen Habermas, "Toward a Reconstruction of Historical Materialism" in Communication and the Evolution of Society (Boston, 1974), and Mark Reader, "Promtheus' Gift: Energy, Inquality and Entropy," a paper delivered at the first regional conference, New Perspectives on Planning in the West, Tempe, Arizona (March 26-28, 1982).

[23]ibid. See, also, Mark Reader, "Meaning, Evolution and Communications: Toward a Theory of Verbal Violence," mms. (1980),

42 pages.

[24]Britons have a tendency to ignore and distort the reactor question, as suggested in articles by Andrew Cockburn and Betsy Taylor in Mark Reader, et al., Atom's Eve: Ending the Nuclear Age (New York, 1980). In 1980, the U.K. was among six nuclear weapons states and ranked fifth in nuclear-reactors. Ruth Leger Sivard, World Military and Social Expenditures, 1980 (Leesburg, Virginia). Unlike theirAmerican and West German counterparts, many British activists have yet to learn how to think about the social consequences of fuel (energy) cycles, particularly the nuclear fuel cycle.

[25]Caspar, op. cit.

[26]Based on conversations with Social Democrat Shirley Williams, St. James's Church, London, Spring 1981.

[27]Based on conversations with Dave Elliott, SERA, Spring, 1981.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Basedonconversations with Quaker activists atNorthDevon, Haringay and Central London, Spring, 1981.

[30]These difficulties were expressed to the author after a talk to the North Devon Peace Council in Barnstaple on March 20, 1981.

[31]King's "Unacceptable Risk" was enthusiastically received when the author first played it at a meeting of Chiswick CND (London), March 26, 1981. King has since reported that this song, along with others, is scheduled for 1982 release in the U.K.

[32]Interestingly enough, the non-violent tactics of Gandhi and

Martin Luther King, Jr. have spread to Communist-bloc nations, as in the Solidarty movement in Poland before the present crackdown.

[33]Inaddition to an expression of moral sentiment, within the British context, a "nuclear free zone" sometimes includes an area pledged neither to produce nor to station within its territorial jurisdiction any nuclear or nuclear-related technology.

[34]Kenneth Boulding, The Image (Ann Arbor, 1956).

[35]Hazel Henderson, Creating Alternative Futures, (New York, 1978)

[36]These images were recorded from personal sightings in and around London, Spring 1981.

[37]Nuclear Energy Questions, Informatin Service on Energy, 2A Ainsli Place, Edenburgh EH3 6AR.

[38]Useful peace-energy book lists are now published by Housmans, SCRAM and ANC and a most useful "Films for Peace" catalogue is available from Concord Films Council, Ltd., 201 Felixware Road, Ipswich, Suffolk, IP3 9BJ. As indicated in the body of this paper, The Commonwealth Collection of books and journals on non-violence and social change is among the more complete holdings in the U.K.

[39]Harry Mister manager of Housemans bookstore in London is among the more knowledgeable peace resourcers in the U.K.

[40]Adam Robertson "Alternative Defence Policies for the U.K.," Dunamis Spring lectures, St. James's church, Piccadilly (London), March 18, 1981.